

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 IO-10 OMB-01 EB-07 TRSE-00

SCCT-01 DHA-02 AID-05 ACDA-05 EAE-00 /081 W

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O R 251200Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1942

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HIWAI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 10231

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, KS, JA

SUBJ: ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS: MIYAZAWA VISIT TO SEOUL

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: SEOUL 5592(NOTAL)

SUMMARY: MIYAZAWA VISIT TO SEOUL CLOSED KIM DAE-JUNG CASE GOVERNMENTALLY BUT RAISED HOWL OF PROTEST FROM OPPOSITION PARTIES AND PRESS. NOTE VERBALE, WHICH FONMIN MIYAZAWA DESCRIBED AS "BEST ROKG COULD DO", IS REGARDED BY OPPONENTS AS MERELY FURTHER OBFUSCATING REALITIES OF THE DIM CASE. DESPITE POLITICAL HAZARDS OF SETTLEMENT, MIYAZAWA NORMALIZED ROK-JAPAN GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AND CLEARED WAY FOR MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE, CONTINUED GOJ ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ROK, AND PROMISED SUPPORT FOR ROK IN UNGA. PM MIKI ALSO GOES TO WASHINGTON WITH TROUBLESOME ISSUE OF JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH ROK OVERCOME AFTER TWO YEARS OF STRAIN. END SUMMARY.

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1. FULFILLING PLEDGE MADE DURING HIS INITIAL FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT IN JANUARY, FONMIN MIYAZAWA CLOSED THE BOOKS, GOVERNMENTALLY, ON THE KIM DAE-JUNG CASE THROUGH HIS JULY 23-24 VISIT TO SEOUL. ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF COMPROMISE WORKED OUT WAS TWO ROK NOTES VER-

BALE, NOW RELEASED TO PRESS (BY SEPTTEL), WHICH DELICATELY AND IN VERY ORIENTAL FASHION BALANCED ACTION ON ROK FORMER FIRST SECRETARY KIM DONG-WOON WITH CALL FOR ZEALOUS JAPANESE MEASURES RELATIVE TO ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT BY MUN SE KUANG. NOTE ON KIM DONG-WOON DOES NOT CATEGORICALLY DENY ROLE BY FORMER FIRST SECRETARY KIM DONG-WOON IN KIDNAPPING OF KIM DAE-JUNG BUT STATES THAT KIM DONG-WOON HAS BEEN STRIPPED OF ALL OFFICIAL STATUS BECAUSE HE "AROUSSED SUSPICION" OF JAPANESE POLICY BY HIS CONDUCT IN JAPAN. NOTE ON MUN SE KUANG CASE STATES THAT GOJ PROMISES TO MAKE UTMOST EFFORTS TO PREVENT RECURRENCE OF SUCH A CRIME BY ANYONE TRYING TO OVERTHROW ROKG BY TERRORISM, WHETHER A MEMBER OF CHOSENREN (PRO-PYONGYANG ORGANIZATION) OR NOT. NOTE ALSO CALLS FOR GOJ TO INVESTIGATE FURTHER THE MUN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT.

2. NOTES DO NOT ADDRESS SEVERAL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING FATE OF KIM DAE-JUNG AND WHETHER JAPAN'S SOVEREIGNTY WAS VIOLATED DURING KIM'S KIDNAPPING. RESPONDING TO PRESS AFTER HIS RETURN, FONMIN MIYAZAWA SAID KIM WOULD BE GIVEN HIS FREEDOM, INCLUDING FREEDOM TO

TRAVEL ABROAD, AFTER HIS TRIAL FOR ELECTION LAW VIOLATIONS IS COMPLETED. AS FOR INFRINGEMENT OF JAPAN'S SOVEREIGNTY AND PROBLEM OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS OF KIM DAE-JUNG, MIYAZAWA TOLD PRESS THAT NOTE VERBALE WAS NOT SOLE ANSWER TO THOSE QUESTIONS. MIYAZAWA ALSO CITED ROK PM KIM JONG-PIL'S VISIT TO JAPAN AND APOLOGIES MADE BY PM KIM DURING HIS VISIT AS ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS OF THE OVERALL RESOLUTION OF THE CASE.

3. MIYAZAWA VISIT ALSO RESULTED, AS IS KNOWN, IN AGREEMENT TO HOLD MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE IN SEPTEMBER, ALTHOUGH MIYAZAWA WILL MAINTAIN IN PUBLIC THAT "ROKG REQUESTED THAT TALKS BE HELD IN SEPTEMBER". MIYAZAWA ALSO AGREED TO CONTINUE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ON A GOVERNMENTAL BASIS BEYOND THIS YEAR. EARLIER, AID WAS EXPECTED TO BE PUT ON PRIVATE BASIS ONLY AT END OF THIS YEAR. MIYAZAWA TOLD DEP PM NAM DUK WOO TO DRAW UP PROPOSALS FOR "MEDIUM TERM" GOJ ASSISTANCE TO ROK. ROKG SOUGHT AND RECEIVED ASSURANCES OF GOJ SUPPORT AT UN THIS FALL. MIYAZAWA ALSO, INCIDENTALLY, REAFFIRMED TO PRESS IN SEOUL THE "ROK CLAUSE" OF NIXON-SATO '69 COMMUNIQUE.  
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4. FONOFF NE ASIA DIVDIR SEO BRIEFED EMBOFF ALONG LINES REFTTEL. DURING DISCUSSION, SEO SAID BOOK WAS CLOSED ON KIM DAE-JUNG AFFAIR BUT NOT UNCONDITIONALLY. SEO CITED TWO AT LEAST THEORETICAL POSSIBILITIES WHICH COULD REQUIRE GOJ TO TAKE FURTHER ACTION. JAPANESE POLICE ARE CONTINUING THEIR INVESTIGATIONS OF THE KIM CASE; IN UNLIKELY EVENT POLICE UNEARTH HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT NEW INFORMATION ON KIM CASE, GOJ WOULD HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE DEVELOPMENT. SECONDLY, SHOULD ROKG GROSSLY VIOLATE UNDERSTANDING THAT KIM DAE-JUNG WOULD BE TREATED AS OTHER ROK CITIZENS SUCH AS BY GIVING DEATH SENTENCE TO KIM FOR HIS ALLEGED ELECTION LAW VIOLATION, GOJ WOULD TAKE ISSUE UP WITH ROKG. SEO SAID ATMOSPHERE AT MEETINGS WITH KOREANS WAS SATISFACTORY BUT NOTED THAT IT WOULD STILL TAKE TIME FOR ROK AND JAPANESE OFFICIALS TO BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO DEALING WITH EACH OTHER

IN NORMAL FASHION. POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH AND SUSPICION TOWARD  
ROK WILL CONTINUE EVEN LONGER BUT TIME WILL SLOWLY ERASE THE SCARS.

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SCCT-01 DHA-02 AID-05 EAE-00 ACDA-05 /081 W

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O R 251200Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO /SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1943

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 TOKYO 10231

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. SEO SAID GOJ MADE THE MOVE WITH ROK FULLY AWARE THAT OF NATURE  
AND EXTENT OF ADVERSE REACTION. BOTH HE AND DEP FONMIN ARITA TOLD  
CHARGE FLARE-UP SHOULD BE RELATIVELY BRIEF AND THEN PASS. SEO ECH-  
OED ARITA'S REMARK AND ADDED THAT OUTCRY WOULD ABATE WITHOUT JEOP-  
ARDIZING EITHER THE GOJ OR THE GOJ'S KOREAN POLICY. LOWER HOUSE  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IS EXPECTED TO MEET JULY 31 TO PROBE  
MIYAZAWA VISIT. SUBJECT WILL PROBABLY FLARE AGAIN IN SPECIAL AUT-  
UMN SESSION BUT MUCH OF PASSION OVER KIM DAE-JUNG CASE HAS ALREADY  
ABATED THROUGH PASSAGE OF TIME.

6. ON OTHER POINTS, SEO SAID KOREANS (KIM DONG-JO) DISCUSSED TRI-  
LATERAL ROK-JAPAN-US RELATIONS IN MUCH SAME WAY AS KIM JONG-PIL  
HAD DURING HIS VISIT TO JAPAN IN MAY. THEY SPOKE "VAGUELY" OF TRI-  
LATERAL SECURITY TIES BUT IN A POLITICAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE.  
NO RESPONSIBLE KOREAN OFFICIAL PROPOSED THREE-WAY MILITARY ARRANGE-  
MENTS ALTHOUGH KIM DONG-JO MENTIONED COOPERATION IN MILITARY EQU-  
IPMENT PRODUCTION.

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7. KOREANS PROPOSED POSSIBLE LINKAGE BETWEEN ROK ADMISSION TO UN

IN PACKAGE DEAL WITH VIETNAMS, AT FIRST SUGGESTING THAT THIS WAS A USG PROPOSAL. WHEN MIYAZAWA SOUGHT CLARIFICATION, KOREANS BACKED OFF AND SAID IT WAS THEIR IDEA.

8. ALTHOUGH MIYAZAWA DECLARED TO PRESS THAT AMICABLE END TO KIM DAE-JUNG AFFAIR WAS ACHIEVED AND ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS WERE AGAIN ON FRIENDLY BASIS, RELEASE OF NOTES IN TOKYO RAISED AN IMMEDIATE STORM OF PROTEST FROM OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES, THE PRESS, JAPAN'S NATIONAL POLICE, AND EVEN ELEMENTS OF LDP.

9. THE LIBERAL ASIA-AFRICA POLICY COMMITTEE OF THE LDP AND OPPOSITION PARTIES (JSP, JCP, AND KOMEITO) WERE SHARPLY CRITICAL OF ROK NOTE VERBALE ON KIM DAE-JUNG INCIDENT AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S ACCEPTANCE OF IT AS A BASIS FOR REINSTITUTING GOJ-ROK MINISTERIALS MEETINGS. THE THREE OPPOSITION PARTIES ALSO TOOK ISSUE WITH MIKI'S RECONFIRMATION OF THE KOREAN CLAUSE IN THE 1969 NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE. THE PARTIES HAVE ASKED FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO GRILL PM MIKI AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA IN LH FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON BOTH THESE MATTERS BEFORE MIKI'S DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON.

10. PRESS WAS UNIFORMLY CRITICAL. ASAHI EDITORIALIZED, "WE REJECT FALSE NORMALIZATION OF JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS" AND CHARGED THAT RELATIONS HAD BEEN NORMALIZED ON "GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL" BUT NOT ON "PEOPLE LEVEL". NIHON KEIZAI SOUNDED COMMON THEME POINTING OUT THAT POPULAR SUSPICION OVER KIM DAE-JUNG CASE HAD NOT BEEN LIQUIDATED BY ROKG'S NOTES VERBALE.

11. POLICE WERE ALSO OPENLY CRITICAL OF SETTLEMENT REACHED BY FONMIN AND SAID INVESTIGATION OF KIM CASE WOULD CONTINUE. THEY ALSO REITERATED DISSATISFACTION WITH RESULTS OF ROK INVESTIGATION.

12. COMMENTING ON UNFAVORABLE REACTION, SEO SAID THAT GOVERNMENTS HAD TO PURSUE NATIONAL POLICIES AND INTERESTS AND COULD NOT SATISFY EVERYONE. GOJ HAD TAKEN THIS "DRASTIC" ACTION WITH ROK BECAUSE IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO JAPAN'S INTEREST TO RESTORE NORMALITY TO RELATIONS WITH ROK.

13. COMMENT: MIYAZAWA BUCKED ADVICE OF MANY OF HIS ADVISORS AND HELD OUT FOR NOTE FROM ROKG AND WON HIS GAMBLE. FOLLOWING RESTOR-  
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ATION OF AIRLINK WITH TAIWAN, MIYAZAWA'S STOCK WITH LDP CONSERVATIVES AND WITH PM MIKI SHOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY ENHANCED, ESPECIALLY SINCE MIKI CAN GO TO US WITH RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS (AND FRIENDS OF US) RE-STABILIZED. CURRENT BROUHAHA IN PRESS AND FROM OPPOSITION SHOULD PASS QUICKLY BUT SETTLEMENT WITH SEOUL WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SUBJECT FOR HEATED DEBATE AT SPECIAL SESSION IN SEPTEMBER, PRESUMABLY WHEN MINISTERIAL TALKS WITH KOREANS WILL BE HELD. DESPITE CRITICISM, POLITICAL COST OF RECONCILIATION SHOULD NOT BE SUBSTANTIAL FOR MIKI OR MIYAZAWA. MOREOVER, WITH TIES WITH TAIWAN AND ROK IMPROVED AND RELATIONS WITH US RECONFIRMED DURING PM MIKI'S VISIT TO US, PEKING APPEARS TO US TO BE LOGICAL SUBSEQUENT DIREC-

TION FOR GOJ INITIATIVE, AND ONE WHICH COULD SALVE FEELINGS ON  
THE LEFT.  
SHOESMITH

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## Message Attributes

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